1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central
features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage
582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be at-
tributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is
•[591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride
goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Inform-
ants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was
almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such
marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no
595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is
587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now be-
come the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal
polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely
given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been
widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an
587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate,
the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is
used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied
to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage prac-
tices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of
these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through
the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had mar-
ried *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted
them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances
it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a
cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[836] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest taboo applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 592 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus 592 596 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage. [587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 596 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the custom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 562 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[23] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored, but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[24] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law tabu.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[25] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[26]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[23] Latcham, 1924, pp. 355–356, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, I: 261 ff.
[24] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.
[25] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206–7.
[26] *Ibid.*

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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kin he had at his command. These conditions provide the socio-cultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineate is in its most highly developed form.[27]

There still remains for consideration the question of whether the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such varied connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,[28] but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.[29]

Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

"The development of neolocal residence, in societies following other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

[27] White, 1939, pp. 569–70; Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[28] Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *kupe* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 722–23.

[29] Titiev, 1943, pp. 518–19; 1944, pp. 46–48.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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nuclear family."[30] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[31] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[32] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[33]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[34]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[30] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[32] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[33] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[34] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol.

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[9] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent

[9] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[13]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness [762] that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[14] The rarity of divorce is also 586 595 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[13] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[14] Cf. Housse, 1939, p. 240.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations.

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims

[7] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8] The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9] Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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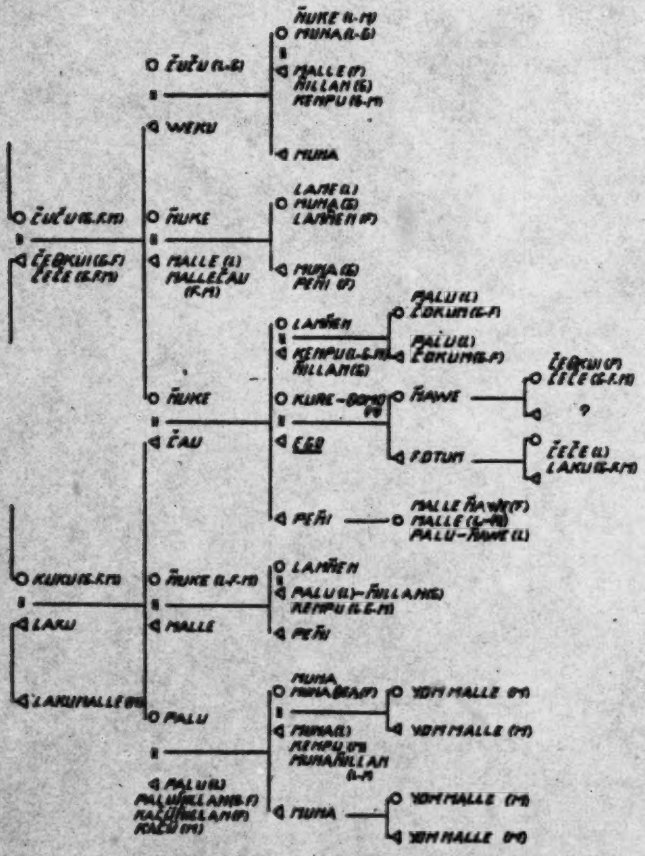

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautin Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as step-mother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124; Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi folum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi folum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle folum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 ●591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting [167] up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 591 682 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*ɟalu*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*ñillan*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 582 587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kurunlukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fota chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋonechén; at the

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

†[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land. 423

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere. [591] [182] [594]

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 443 452

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

[p.68 is blank]

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed.

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation.

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are

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[591] concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly [629] the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, [721] the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

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[611] Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patri-
[602] lineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

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799 The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation ecosystem of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 5 shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since le-

[See Cat. 116, p. 93—Analyse]

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[a] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

[a] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its married core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. This has come about because women as well as men were registered during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent subsidiary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *mitha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re- [596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either
[584] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to
[595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will
[591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare.

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence.

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan ßomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved.

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally.

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167 423 428 602 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 423 829 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*füllatufe*) at the *füllatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the [709] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

178 423 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

613 182 [611] [591] Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the coess of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 602 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

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591 Most Mapuche living arrangements are accounted for by a simple rule of patrilocal residence. When a man marries he brings his wife to his reservation and lives there with her on land allotted to him according to his claim on his patrilineage. Within this broad context, there are variations, one of which has been characterized as "neolocality." Under present-day conditions, neolocality does not imply that a man sets up his own household off the paternal reservation. It has been used, by Titiev (1951), to describe a condition in which a man moves away from the paternal roof after marriage, although remaining on the reservation. The distance he moves and the kind of relationship he maintains with his paternal household of course qualify the concept of neolocality. In all cases, however, the situation is one of patrilocality by reservation.

59 If a man continues to work his father's land, depends on his father's assistance in building his new house and setting up a household, and generally remains under his father's authority in important economic matters, I feel that it is misleading to characterize the residence pattern as neolocal. Actually, it is more in the nature of a compound arrangement in which each son, or some of them, sets up a house of his own after marriage. The paternal house is the focal point of the group of houses and together with them makes up a joint-extended family (*lofche*). It is similar to the polygynous family (and indeed may have a polygynous unit) in which a man has separate houses for each of his wives and their children, although in the polygynous cases the houses are more nucleated, whereas in the former case the sons' houses might be near the perimeter of the paternal land. But in either case, we must look to the interhousehold relationships before attempting to define the type of residence.

Thus, the rule of patrilocal residence is generally adhered to but must be qualified when greater specificity is desired. There is the compound variation already mentioned. There is also the budding of houses from the parental house, followed by a rupture of relationships between father and sons or, more usually, between brothers and their grown sons. Where this occurs, it might be more useful to consider the pattern as one of virilocal residence, implying a certain measure of autonomy per household unit not observable to the same extent in the

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591• [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member, more particularly stated the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridewice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridewice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 662 591 [523] [648]

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562 591 423 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who may have children, but for whom no bridepric has been received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 621 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup* In essence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for intereservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 915 178 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to [illegible] of the dominant group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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The syringe and the aspirin combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be performed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in the *rewe*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only *kalku* are able to enter the *rewe* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *rewe*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else penned into the storehouse as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because *[illegible]* for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken against her, except for execution. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no choice to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are concerned, many who live unethically (even for shrewd eco-

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mimic enemy) are accused of having been cleared from their social communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of exorbitant misfortune—an inevitable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, these re-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:730), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring machi were usually instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to various rituals, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of the witches is not in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

Kallfu are believed to gather in reds, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean society. They fly by night to their conferences, frequently as chonchons, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though he might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition of witches' groups is conceived differently conceptualized as